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The AMERICAN OBSERVER

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free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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CHINA DISRUPTED BY SECTIONAL POLITICS

Country Weakened by Inability to Unite Under One Head. Civil Wars Drain Resources

FOREIGN INFLUENCE UNOPPOSED

Government States It Will No Longer Resist Regional Independence

If Marco Polo, who in the latter part of the thirteenth century wrote such an amazing account of his experiences in China, could make the same voyage today he would have a far different story to tell. Instead of a tale of splendor and riches, he would bring back a sorry description of poverty, famine, flood, and revolution. The China which he knew has ceased to exist. The emperors who ruled for thousands of years are banished, and rival factions struggle for power while foreign influence gains a firmer foothold. One after another troubles have descended upon China until at present she is a broken, and practically a dismembered nation.

Why is China in such a state of constant disruption? Why is it that she cannot keep herself free from internal strife? Why must foreign nations maintain rights and concessions in China for the protection of their citizens? How is it that such a mighty expanse of territory, inhabited by more than 400,000,000 people, must suffer its rich province of Manchuria to become "independent" under foreign tutelage? What internal situation exists in China which makes all these things possible?

REVOLUTION

They are possible because the Chinese people are passing through a great revolution. They are trying to build a satisfactory political system, a new social system, and are undergoing a period of economic, religious and intellectual transformation. China is seeing more than an ordinary revolution. It is for her a time of historic transition; an old civilization is dying and a new is being born.

The process is a painful one, for the roots of that old civilization have been firmly imbedded in Chinese soil for thousands of years. It is essential that this fact be borne in mind if the present state of China is to be understood. When the western world was still in a semi-barbaric stage, Chinese culture was already highly developed. For a graphic account of her early progress we turn to the pages of Mr. Sherwood Eddy's recent book, "The Challenge of the East."

China's early civilization surpassed that of primitive or medieval Europe. Her cultured people were dressed in silks more than a thousand years before Christ, when northern Europe was still clad in skins and centuries later in coarse wool and linen. China had invented and was using paper of high grade by 105 A. D. This discovery was carried through central Asia to Persia, Egypt and Spain, and finally reached Europe in the eleventh century, nearly a thousand years after its invention in China. The early discovery and use of the mariner's compass, of gunpowder, of furniture, wallpaper, landscape gardening and many other evidences of a high degree of culture and civilization placed her far in advance of Europe. She discovered the art of printing and the use of movable type nearly four centuries before Gutenberg. She was dining on fine porcelain when Eu-

(Concluded on page 7)



THE EMERGENCY CASE —Talburt in Washington News

TO OUR READERS

These are difficult times through which we are passing—difficult and yet absorbingly interesting. One who watches closely the procession of events must feel the dramatic quality of the news as week by week he reads of developments which may greatly affect the course of history. The months which have passed since the school year began have been crowded months indeed. We have watched anxiously the course of business everywhere and have studied the phenomenon of world depression, have undertaken to fathom its causes and have followed every effort at relief. We have read of one crisis after another in foreign lands. We come now, not to the close of a scene, but to an anxious moment in the unfolding of the plot. Our great political drama, the presidential campaign, is getting under way. The national conventions will meet in a month. At about the same time, the international negotiations over reparations and debts will reach a critical stage as the world's economic and political leaders meet at Lausanne. Congress is in the midst of its efforts at tax revision and economy legislation. It may well be that this summer will be as significant as the summer of 1931. Events occurred during the period of the last school vacations which have vitally affected the course of affairs since that time.

We are continuing the publication of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER throughout the summer in order that there may be no break in the studies we have been carrying on. We believe that the civic training involved in the study of current history must be continuous if it is to be effective, especially in a dynamic time such as this. The world does not stop when the history and social science classes do, and after all, the object of all our work during the

year has not been merely to complete courses, but to understand the changing world in which we live.

We invite each instructor and each student to coöperate with us during the summer in the work of keeping abreast of the times by sending us a three-month subscription, June 1 to September 1, at the special rate of fifty cents each for a single subscription. Address THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. We suggest that you send your name now so that you may be placed on the list at once. The money may be sent later.

You may be interested to know that the international correspondence plan is being widely followed. Literally thousands of our readers have availed themselves of our lists of names and are corresponding with foreign students. We are enlarging our lists during the summer and we are acquiring names of teachers and other mature men and women in foreign countries who wish to correspond with Americans. We will thus be able next year to extend the plan of promoting international understanding by bringing foreign contacts to our older readers.

Seldom in our history have such heavy responsibilities rested upon the intelligent young men and women of this nation. The problems which bear so grievously upon us can be solved only by clear-headed thinking and courageous planning on the part of competent and well-informed citizens. The call of today is for a patriotism just as truly as it ever was in time of war—a patriotism which will reveal itself in a conscientious study of the nation's needs and an active participation in the civic life. THE AMERICAN OBSERVER offers such assistance as it may give in the building of that sound body of fact and opinion upon which wise political action must necessarily be based.

PARTIES PREPARE FOR COMING CONVENTIONS

Interest Centers on Democrats as Contest Between Candidates Becomes Keen

HOOVER RENOMINATION IS SURE

Prohibition Issue Likely to Be Storm Center in Drafting Party Platforms

Within a month the nation will be witnessing those most spectacular of political events, the holding of the national conventions. The representatives of the Republican Party will assemble in Chicago, June 14, and the Democrats will follow in the same city on June 27. These conventions will exercise two functions of importance. Each will adopt a platform embodying the party principles and the program of action for which the party promises to stand. And each of them will nominate candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency. The conventions are already casting their shadows across the political scene, affecting the work of government officials and claiming the attention of press and public.

RеспUBLICAN PROBLEMS

The Republican convention promises to be a relatively quiet affair. It is a foregone conclusion that President Hoover will be renominated without any effective opposition. No contest is being waged for the vice-presidency. The nomination for this office will go to the present incumbent, Mr. Curtis, unless the party leaders at the last moment decide that some other name would lend greater strength to the ticket. Nor is a spirited contest in prospect over the platform. The president has already determined the nature of the platform by his record. The convention of his party will naturally and necessarily endorse the work of the Hoover administration. It will stand for the things he stands for. Anyone who is curious, therefore, as to the content of the 1932 Republican platform may examine the record of the administration, may take note of what the president has said and done about the depression, the tariff, the bonus, inflation and other questions of moment, and he may then predict fairly accurately what the platform planks will be.

Just one big fight may be expected at the Republican convention. There will be a struggle between the wets and the drys. No one expects the Republican convention to make a ringing declaration in favor of the principle and practice of prohibition, but the drys will seek to secure a declaration in favor of the enforcement of all laws, which would include prohibition; and they will undertake to prevent the wets from building into the platform a plank declaring for the resubmission of prohibition to the people.

The Democratic convention will offer spectators a better show. It will not be a cut and dried affair. The program of the party has not been mapped out in advance. There will be plenty of wrangling over the platform and, in particular, the Democrats, like the Republicans, will have a prohibition issue on their hands. It is generally conceded that this will be a wetter convention than the Republican, but whether or not it will declare outright for repeal, or whether it will pledge all Democratic congressmen to work even for the submission

of the question to the people, is as yet undetermined.

But the great event of the Democratic convention will be the nomination of a candidate for the presidency. This is not predetermined, as is the case with the Republicans. The fight is a wide open one. There are a number of candidates and it appears that no one of them will go to the convention with enough delegates to win an immediate victory. It is this uncertainty which lends interest to the approaching convention.

This convention will be composed of 1,154 delegates. They have been chosen, or are being chosen, from each state of the Union and from the national possessions. Some of these delegates have been elected by state conventions. Some have been elected by the Democratic voters in primaries. Some of them are uninstructed. Others have received instructions from the voters of their states. This has happened where primaries have been held to give the voters of each party the opportunity of naming their choice for the presidential nomination. The delegates from the states holding such primaries are supposed to carry out the wishes of a majority of the voters.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

As things stand at present, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York, the outstanding Democratic candidate, has nearly 400 delegates either pledged to him, or known to favor him. No other candidate has any considerable number of delegates. Mr. Alfred E. Smith, who received the party's nomination four years ago, has picked up a few delegates here and there. Several of the state delegations will vote for their own local leaders. These local leaders are known as "favorite sons" and, on the early balloting, at least, they will receive the votes of the delegates from their own states. The delegates from Maryland, for example, are instructed to vote for Governor Albert C. Ritchie; while other "favorite sons" with delegations from their own states are Senator James Hamilton Lewis of Illinois, former Governor Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, Governor George White of Ohio, Governor "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma, former Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, Speaker of the House of Representatives John N. Garner of Texas. Mr. Garner secured the delegation from California also, since he was the victor in a three-cornered primary contest, defeating Governor Roosevelt and Mr. Smith.

Governor Roosevelt, we have said, will go to the convention with a large block of delegates. His friends say that he will have a majority of the delegates, either on

the first ballot, or soon thereafter. Those who oppose him concede him somewhat less than 400 votes, with the other convention votes divided among a large field of candidates. Now 400 delegates, or even a majority of all the delegates, 578, is a long way from enough to name a candidate, for in the Democratic convention it takes two-thirds to nominate. Mr. Roosevelt, or any other candidate, must thus have the votes of 770 delegates in order to win the prize. The Roosevelt forces believe that if their candidate secures a majority at the convention, other delegates will flock to him so that he will obtain the necessary two-thirds. That usually happens in Democratic conventions, but there has been one exception. In 1912 Champ Clark, then the speaker of the House of Representatives, secured a majority vote, but failed of the nomination. If Roosevelt does not develop enough strength to secure the two-thirds vote, the delegates may turn to one of the "favorite sons." Or they may, after a number of ballots, choose some man who is not now an avowed candidate and whose name does not figure in the first voting. A man who is thus brought before the convention in case of deadlock—one who has not been a candidate before the convention—is known as a "dark horse." Two very prominent "dark horses" are now being groomed very carefully by their friends and may be trotted out before the convention if a nomination does not come on the early ballots.

CONVENTION PROSPECTS

One of these candidates is Newton D. Baker, of Ohio, who has had a long career in politics, having served two terms as mayor of Cleveland and having been secretary of war under President Wilson. The other is Owen D. Young, chairman of the General Electric Company, who was head of the international committee which developed the so-called "Young Plan" of reparations payments. Mr. Young is a big business man who has gained quite a large popular following because of his supposed liberal leanings. Of course, it is quite possible that the convention may turn to someone who has not been regarded as among the presidential possibilities, if there should be a prolonged deadlock.

Governor Roosevelt has been the leading contender for the Democratic nomination since his election to the governorship in 1928. This very fact of his carrying the state of New York and being elected as its governor at the very time that the popular "Al" Smith was losing that state in his race for the presidency, established the Roosevelt reputation as a vote getter. This reputation was enhanced in 1930 when, in his campaign for re-election, he carried the



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THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE ADDRESSES THE NATION

The radio has come to play a highly important part in political campaigns. The old "stump speaker" will soon be a relic of the past

state by the unprecedented majority of 750,000. Not only does he have a good record as a vote getter, but he has made himself popular with Democrats in all parts of the country. He has declared himself against prohibition, which renders him acceptable, at least so far as that issue is concerned, in the East where there are many large cities, and where there is consequently very strong feeling against prohibition. This prohibition stand might be expected to cost Mr. Roosevelt his support in the dry South. But that section of the country looks with favor upon his candidacy. He has many supporters in the West, chiefly, perhaps, because he favors public ownership of electric power plants, and he has thus brought himself into line with the progressivism which is so strong in the West.

HOW CANDIDATES STAND

Former Governor Smith's views are fairly well known through the record of his speeches four years ago. He is in general agreement with Mr. Roosevelt on the question of electric power. He is not so definitely lined up with the progressive wing of the party as Roosevelt is, however, since he has been closely associated with John J. Raskob and other men of large business connections. He is largely responsible for having four years ago turned the Democratic party away from a program of drastic tariff revision downward. He opposes prohibition even more stoutly than Roosevelt does. He favors direct federal relief of the unemployed and has recently declared for a large bond issue to provide public improvements, thus giving work to the unemployed.

Governor Ritchie is very popular in his own state, being the only man to have been for the fourth time elected to the governorship. It is said that he has greatly improved the machinery of government in his state, and that he has carried on a very efficient administration. On matters of national politics he is best known for his emphatic denunciation of prohibition. He is distinctly a conservative, since he favors a minimum of government interference with business. He is a "states' rights" man, looking with disfavor upon encroachments by the national government within the realms of action usually marked out for the states. He opposes, for example, federal grants to the states for purposes of road building and other projects, because these grants of federal money are given to the states on condi-

tion that the work shall be supervised by the federal government.

Newton D. Baker has varied interests. He has been known for his passionate devotion to the League of Nations. In the Democratic convention of 1924 he made a determined effort to secure the endorsement of the League, but lately he, like Governor Roosevelt, has denied any wish to see the United States in the League at the present time. It is generally agreed that he did excellent work as secretary of war during the trying days of the World War. He has taken an active part in the investigation of crime and its causes and was a member of the Wickersham Commission on Law Enforcement. He is quite generally opposed by the labor unions, because he has supported the "open shop," or the principle that employers should have the privilege of employing non-union labor. He is opposed by many progressives because he stands for private, rather than public, ownership and control of electric power plants and other public utilities. He favors repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

John N. Garner, speaker of the House of Representatives, comes from a small town in Texas. He is a man of simple tastes, a "man of the people" type, who has a reputation for honesty, straightforwardness, and political shrewdness. He opposed the eighteenth amendment at the time of its adoption, but has not recently declared himself on prohibition. Some people who favor friendly co-operation with other nations look with suspicion upon Speaker Garner, because he has been endorsed by William Randolph Hearst, but Mr. Garner has said nothing to indicate that he accepts the narrow nationalism of the Hearst press.

REFERENCES

Those who are interested in making character studies of the prominent presidential candidates may find valuable discussions in recent numbers of the *Forum* and the *Nation*. The *Forum* has been running a series of articles on outstanding candidates and each one of the analyses is favorable, for it is written by a friend or admirer of the candidate in question. The *Nation* has run a similar series, these, however, chiefly critical.

The *Forum* series began with the August, 1931, issue with an article on Governor Ritchie. Others which have followed are: September, Newton D. Baker; October, Joseph T. Robinson; November, Samuel Seabury; December, Alfred E. Smith; January, Owen D. Young; February, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray; March, Franklin D. Roosevelt; May, John N. Garner.

The *Nation* articles are as follows: March 2, William E. Borah; March 9, Albert C. Ritchie; March 16, Calvin Coolidge; March 23, Herbert Hoover; March 30, Norman Thomas; April 6, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray; April 13, Newton D. Baker; April 20, John N. Garner; April 27, Franklin D. Roosevelt.



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WILL THE DEMOCRATS REPEAT THEIR 1924 PERFORMANCE?

It is being predicted that the coming convention at Chicago will be a long and drawn out affair. Candidates will fight stubbornly for votes just as they did at the historic Madison Square Garden meeting in New York eight years ago.

Inhabitants of Near East Discuss Local as Well As International Problems in Letters

During the last few weeks we have quoted from many interesting letters which have come to the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER from foreign countries—from Canada, England, Holland, Germany, Belgium, Hungary, Italy and Poland. We have also had letters from some of the smaller and less well known countries—from some of the more out of the way parts of the world. These letters give very interesting pictures of conditions in remote regions. Here, for example, is a description of Palestine, the old Holy Land, from an Englishman who served in the Near East during the war and who did not come back with the army, but settled in Haifa, Palestine:

Were I asked to describe Palestine (that is, the elements which go to form its characteristics) in a word, I should say Diversity—diversity of religions, diversity of civilizations, diversity of climate, of physical characteristics. If you wish coolness in the summer you may live 3,000 feet above sea level. If you wish warmth in the winter you may live 1,000 feet below sea level. You will find in Beersheba the Bedhuin living in precisely the same conditions as did Abraham of old. In Bethlehem the mode of living and women's costumes have remained from the time of the Crusaders. Many of the towns present problems of the early nineteenth century. Whilst the new arrivals from Central Europe and America bring with them activities of the twentieth and perhaps the twenty-first century. In addition there is the unique interest attaching to Palestine in what one may call the birthplace of the three great religions.

The British government experiences many of the same problems as did Pontius Pilate. Politically the administration of Palestine is a hard nut. To encourage the establishment of a national home for the Jews, qualified by: "providing nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the rights of non-Jews." A very difficult formula to interpret.

Another letter from Palestine is from a native of that country, a young Arabian student. His letter gives indication of political activities in which he is engaged without furnishing a minute description which surely would have been interesting.

I am a young man, twenty-four years of age. I was graduated from the "American University of Cairo" in 1928, then I went to England for three years, joined London University, and took a course in economics and public administration.

During my stay in England, I devoted some of my time to addressing public meetings in various towns on the present condition in Palestine, especially from the political point of view. They seem to be very interested in the subject and they agreed that they only know very little about Palestine, of what they hear from the local newspapers from time to time.

On my return to Jerusalem, I discovered

with other friends that it is necessary to organize a political party selected from intelligent young men who could carry out the responsibility of such matters, but unfortunately an outside hand played to wreck down our organization, namely the British Colonial Policy. . . .

There is a very important subject that I shall discuss with you in the next letter, namely the "Tourist Problem." Those tourists come to this country in particular and to visit the Near East in general merely to see all those ancient places, and then go home without the slightest idea about the people of this part of the world.

As we proceed along the Mediterranean to the westward from Palestine we come eventually to the island of Malta, which lies between Sicily and the coast of Tunisia. And we have this from an aspiring young Maltese teacher and student:

I am a teacher in the public school at Vittoriosa, a city not very far away from Cospicua. I hope you are not one of those people who condemn ambition, because personally I have great hopes for the future. If my plans go all right (or O. K. as you Yankees say), I shall be going to England in 1934 for a two-years' course in headteachership. At present, I have a sister in an English college, doing that selfsame course; she has been there since September, 1930, and will be back in Malta next July. . . .

Malta is at present in the midst of great political agitation. In 1921, Great Britain, to whom the island belongs, granted us self-government with the privilege of electing a local Parliament. (Parliament is the European equivalent of Uncle Sam's Congress). But now, constant friction between Church and State have compelled the mother-country to suspend our constitution. A royal commission recently came to Malta to inquire into the deadlock, and now with their report comes the anxiously awaited news that, after all, we are not going to lose our constitution. A general election will be held soon.

At the western end of the Mediterranean, we come to Morocco and we find a Moroccan correspondent discussing, not the conditions of his own country, but the state of Europe and the obligations of the United States, as he sees them.

If the French mean to wreck the disarmament conference with their proposed scheme then it should be the duty of the U. S. A. to step in as they stepped in for the war and declare to relinquish war debts for nations that are willing to disarm and impose obligations on the reluctant ones. For, it is obvious, that France is seeking obstinately to establish her hegemony in Europe and this cannot result but in war and war without any means of escape. And the old civilized nations of Europe are not aware of it that old mother Europe is flanked on either side by two mighty units, i. e. the U. S. A. at one side and the U. S. S. R. at the other, both in the becoming of a cultural regeneration.

The salvation of European civilization is not by war as was imagined when all the world came to the help of France in order to kill war. Now we have seen that instead of German militarism we got French militarism; and one is worth the other as I know by personal experience of the two.

At a point where the Adriatic and the Mediterranean meet, the little country, Albania, is situated on the mainland of Europe across a narrow neck of water from Italy. The capital of Albania is Tirana, and from that little city a correspondent writes to us, criticizing our immigration policy in this way:

The immigrants who made the States a great and rich country have not brought money with them and nobody has guaranteed their welfare. The crimes have not been greater and more frequent in the time when immigration was free. The wages declined heavily not as result of cheap labor offers, and the standard of life can not be kept in the same way by the majority of the citizens. It is a very interesting question, worth studying, whether and what influence the immigration restrictions have got on the present depression. On the first look the statement that a non-restricted immigration would improve the conditions of labor seems to be a paradox, but the fact that millions of new immigrants who bring with them no goods at all, have to buy every year for hundreds of millions, goods made in the States, and that in the time of depression the other population, except the newcomers, is in a state of saturation of all primitive necessities and semi-luxury goods, proves that this statement is right, the more as the new immigrants don't use their money for speculation, and buy goods and make savings which they put in the American banks. It is true that they send also a part of their money to their native countries but the amounts are not even 10% of their earnings.

SOVIET POLICY CHANGES

The Soviet Government announced another important change in policy on May 7. In order to encourage the peasants to further endeavor, the government will no longer make a practice of taking all the grain produced on collective farms. The peasants will be allowed to keep a share of it for themselves and they will be permitted to sell it for their own benefit. As a result, the small trader, formerly an outcast, may be expected to make his appearance again. Individuals will be encouraged to manufacture such articles of necessity as boots, cloth and tinware, and to trade them for the farmer's grain.

Thus, the Communists are now doing for agriculture what they have already done for industry. Recently, through the establishment of the "piece-work" system, a man's pay came to be measured by the actual amount of work done. Now, the farmer, by being permitted to sell a part of his grain produce at his own price will derive profit from his own labors. The more grain he grows the more he will have to sell. It is thought that this latest concession will stimulate individual initiative.



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JERUSALEM—A NARROW HILL STREET

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Mr. Roosevelt made two nominating speeches for Governor Smith. But something convinces us that he isn't going to make another. —New York HERALD-TRIBUNE

France has doubled the tariff on prunes, which will throw more of them on this country—a dirty Gallic trick. What a pal she turned out to be!—Philadelphia INQUIRER

You can recognize a political issue by the way party leaders snort and shy when they it in the road. —Los Angeles TIMES

There is a report that they are going to merge "The Good Earth" with the book of "Rain" and sell it to the movies under the title "Muddy Waters." —New York SUN

It is not good to have too much liberty. It is not good to have all one wants. —PASCAL

"Alfalfa Bill" Murray says he wants to give the Government back to the people, but considering the shape it's in now, it really seems foolish for Bill to go to all that trouble. —Dayton DAILY NEWS

Marco Polo was regarded once as a great traveler. But that was before Jimmy Walker came along. —New York HERALD-TRIBUNE

If piled up neatly in layers, compliments hurled at Congress since the start of the tax discussion would make a dandy rock garden. —Des Moines REGISTER

It seems to be the idea in some quarters that a bucket of suds will make a full dinner pail. —Philadelphia INQUIRER

"To have enough for your needs," said Hi Ho, the sage of Chinatown, "is a dream never realized. One need satisfied opens the door to many new ones." —Washington STAR

Work began on the Panama Canal twenty-eight years ago. How interesting it is to recall that there was once such a thing as work! —New York SUN

PRONUNCIATIONS: Kuomintang (kwo-min-tahng—k pronounced almost like g, o as in go, i as in hit), Yuan Shi Kai (ywan she ki—a as in all, e as in me, i as in time), Sun Yat Sen (sun yat sen—vowels are short), Chiang Kai Shek (chiang—i is scarcely sounded, a as in all; ki—i as in time; shek—e as in get), Morocco (mo-rok'o—second o as in hot, others as in go), Tunisia (too-niss o—a as in me), Cairo (ki'ro—i as in time, o as in go), Bedhuin (bed'oo-in—e as in get, i as in hit), Haifa (hi'fa—i as in time, a as in final), Doumer (doo-mair), Lebrun (le-brun—u as in grunt (nasal), n scarcely pronounced), Nazi (not-see), Groener (gru'ner—u as in hurt).



MOROCCO—A VILLAGE ON THE MAIN ROAD OUT OF CASABLANCA

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REVIEW OF THE WEEK

IN one of the most spirited messages which he has delivered since coming into office, President Hoover, on May 5, rebuked Congress for its failure to enact speedy and effective financial legislation. After a review of congressional action and inaction during the previous six weeks, the president made a strong plea for a balanced budget. He said in part:

Nothing is more necessary at this time than balancing the budget. Nothing will put more heart into the country than prompt and courageous and united action in enacting the legislation which this situation imperatively demands, and an equally determined stand in defeating unwise and unnecessary legislation.

Mr. Hoover demanded that Congress take two-fold action without further delay. He asked that a satisfactory tax bill be passed and that a sensible economy bill be drafted to effect the necessary savings. He urged Congress to cast aside all partisanship and to unite in a resolute effort to balance the budget.

Not satisfied with this blast of presidential displeasure, Mr. Hoover the next day made a direct appeal to the people. "This is not an issue between the President and Congress or its members," he said. "It is an issue of the people against delays and destructive legislation which impair the credit of the United States."

It is natural that with a presidential campaign so near, political motives should have been attributed both to the president and to the congressional leaders. The Democrats charge Mr. Hoover with political maneuvering and an attempt to place them in an unfavorable light. They make the retort that had the president called Congress in extra session last summer an adequate financial program could have been adopted. They state that he offered no leadership and recommended no program of economy. Furthermore, the complaint is made that cabinet members have resisted and obstructed the efforts of Congress to impose economies upon the various departments. The Republicans reply that the Democratic majority was playing

politics and was delaying necessary legislation.

Regardless of the motive, the president's messages were not without effect. The tax bill was completed the next day, and on May 10 the Senate took determined action toward a program of economy. A strictly bi-partisan Economy Committee was appointed to draft a real economy bill, in place of the House bill which, if passed, would save only about \$30,000,000 rather than the \$200,000,000 needed to balance the budget.

AFTER a hectic career of more than a month in the Senate Finance Committee, the billion-dollar tax bill was finally whipped into shape on May 6 and presented on the floor of the Senate a few days later. At the last minute the entire measure was rewritten with the assistance of Secretary Mills. The tax bill in its final form contained most of the recommendations which had been presented by Secretary Mellon early in December. It is estimated to yield the government additional revenue of \$1,030,000,000 during the next fiscal year.

Until the last minute it was difficult to know just what kind of a bill would emerge from the hands of the Finance Committee. Changes had been so numerous and so rapid during the last few days of consideration that even members of the committee began to lose enthusiasm for the measure. Items were voted in one day and out the next. The committee favored including tariff items in the tax bill, only to reverse their decision and finally to readopt the import duties. The pressure exerted by the administration—through the sharp rebuke contained in the president's message and the presence of Secretary Mills—was a decisive factor in getting the bill before the Senate.

It is understood that the principal obstacle to the enactment of the bill into law will not be opposition on the floor of the Senate. While there are certain features to which members are likely to object, it is thought that the Senate will adopt the bill virtually as it came from the Finance Committee. But when the measure goes to the conference committee—a committee to be composed of members of both houses—it will be difficult to adjust the differences between the Senate and House bills. For the House bill, which was passed on April 1, differs in many respects from that now being considered by the Senate.

The Senate bill provides for a higher income tax rate both for individuals and corporations than the House bill provided for; a higher amusement tax; a higher tax on automobiles; a further increase in postage rates by including second-class mail; a higher levy on home-brew ingredients; a tax on bank checks not included in the House bill; three new tariff levies, rubber, copper and lumber. On the other hand, it has lowered the rate of certain taxes such as that on telephone and telegraph messages, on the sale of stocks and bonds, and has completely removed a few of the taxes on special products such as jewelry.

THE second or "run-off" elections for the French Chamber of Deputies, held on May 8, resulted in a sweeping victory for the Left groups and in a smashing defeat for the Right. The coalition of Right and Center which has supported André Tardieu is gone and it is likely that when the Chamber meets on June 2, Edouard Herriot, Radical-Socialist, will be made premier. M. Tardieu tendered his resignation to President Lebrun the very day the latter was elected to office. The Premier stated that he would not accept a renomination but would continue to hold the office until a successor could be chosen.

Therefore, when the new Chamber meets, an entirely new line-up of political groups may be expected. Mr. Herriot's Radical-

Socialist party will be the strongest in the body with 156 seats, a gain of 47. Next in strength will be the Socialists, under Léon Blum, with 129 seats, a gain of 17. M. Tardieu's party, the Left Republicans, will have only 72 seats, a loss of 29.

As no single party will be strong enough to command a majority in its own right it will be necessary, as it always is in France, to form a coalition. To obtain a majority of the 615 seats, M. Herriot may either gain the support of the Socialists and one or more other Left groups, or he may incline to the Right and seek his support from the more moderate Center groups. In any case, it is expected that there will be no radical change in French foreign policy, although M. Herriot has the reputation of being inclined toward moderation. His recent public utterances, however, indicate that he will be hardly more conciliatory than was Premier Tardieu. (For a discussion of the meaning of Left and Right and of the position of the various parties, see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER for May 4.)

THE assassination of President Paul Doumer of France on May 5 has removed from the public life of that country a man highly esteemed and respected

throughout the world. While M. Doumer had played a rather inconspicuous part in directing the affairs of France during the year of his presidency, such is always the case with the man who holds that position of honor. But the long list of activities in which he participated since his entry into public life in 1888 as

a member of the Chamber of Deputies is indicative of the service he rendered his country. Member and president of both houses of the French Parliament, occupant of cabinet posts, governor-general of French Indo-China and finally thirteenth president of the republic—these were among the accomplishments of the beloved executive who fell at the hand of a fanatic Russian slayer.

In view of this tragic event, it became the duty of the French Parliament last week to name a successor to M. Doumer. As provided by the constitution, the members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies met in the historic palace of Versailles on May 10 as a national assembly to cast their votes for the new president. It was a solemn occasion, unaccompanied by the enthusiasm of the preceding election when the contest between M. Doumer and Aristide Briand was close, for within the year both these men have passed away. There was no real contest this year, for it was well known beforehand that the new president would be Albert Lebrun, president of the Senate. So, one by one, the deputies and senators filed past the ballot box and cast their vote. The final result was as had been expected—a victory for M. Lebrun. 633 votes were cast for him and 114 for the Socialist candidate who was never considered a serious contender.

EFFORTS to bring about the signing of an armistice between China and Japan in Shanghai were finally successful on May 5. While this has been considered as a favorable omen from the Far East, conditions in that section of the world are far from settled. The scene of action has once more shifted from Shanghai to Manchuria, or Manchoukuo, as the new state has been called. Japanese military and naval forces have been withdrawing from the Shanghai region at a rapid rate. But they have been transferred to Man-



WHAT A NEIGHBORHOOD
—Brown in N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

churia. Last week, large numbers of troops were being dispatched to this region where conditions are regarded as very unfavorable. The reason for this action on the part of Japan is said to be the increased activities of "bandits" under the control of Manchurian war lords. The regular forces of Manchuria, according to reports, are unable to suppress the movement and to protect the lives and property of Japanese in that section. The special commission of inquiry of the League of Nations, which has been in the Far East for some months investigating the causes of the conflict, was in Harbin, northern Manchuria last week, where they were heavily guarded because of the unsettled conditions in that city.

MEMBERS of the German Reichstag assembled in Berlin on May 9 for a four-day session, the first to be held in ten weeks. While the object of the meeting was to discuss the financial problems of the country, the session drifted into a political battle of a bitter nature. On the morning of the second day, the spokesman of the Hitlerites outlined the policies of his party, urging their acceptance by the Reichstag. One of the main features of the Nazi program is the adoption of a plan to reduce unemployment by means of public construction and the reclaiming of waste lands. The Hitlerite also made what has been interpreted as an appeal for the co-operation of Chancellor Brüning and his party, believing that an alliance of the two parties would enable the government to carry out more effectively a constructive program.

But in the afternoon session of the same day, no such calm prevailed. Instead the Reichstag was in turmoil as soon as the Hitlerites demanded Herr Groener, minister of defense, to account for his recent action in dissolving the Nazi "brown army" or storm troops. The debates were characterized by such disturbances that the session had to be adjourned until order could be restored.

OPPONENTS of the two-billion dollar bonus bill, which provided for the full payment of compensation certificates to war veterans, have become certain that such legislation will not be enacted during the present session of Congress. The Ways and Means Committee which has been considering the bill for several weeks voted 15 to 10 against the measure on May 6. While the advocates of the bonus bill are still striving to obtain action and while Representative Crisp has announced that the committee will reconsider the measure, it is not thought likely that any action will be taken before Congress adjourns next month. In the reconsideration of the bill, it is apparent that no member who voted against the provisions of the measure will change his vote.



AN OBSCURE MAN TELLS BOTH OF THEM
—Kirby in N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM

THE LIBRARY TABLE

STUDIES OF OPINION

XI

The *New Republic*, a liberal journal of opinion, stresses a very important subject editorially in its issue of May 11. It refers to a study which has been made by Professor Gardiner C. Means of 200 of the largest American corporations. This study indicates that only 6 per cent of the corporate wealth is under the control of owners. It is a well known fact that ownership of the corporations of the country has been passing into the hands of the masses of American investors. Thousands of people participate, for example, in the ownership of the Pennsylvania railroad or of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, but most of these owners—these stockholders—have nothing whatever to do with management or control. Some of the stock does not give voting rights. There are various legal restrictions on stockholder control, and then there is no effective way by which a small stockholder may make his influence felt. The consequence is that control of the great industries of the nation has fallen into the hands of a very few. This concentration of power is greater than it has been in earlier periods because the large corporations have absorbed the savings of millions of people, and those who control them thus control not merely the wealth of captains of industry but a large share of the savings of the people of the nation. This editorial declares that the separation of ownership from control has not gone so far "in the case of industrial companies as in railroads and utilities, but even there considerably more than half were under non-ownership control." The *New Republic* continues with this comment:

The objectors to a system of economic planning and social control, who protest that it would drastically limit the freedom of the owner to do as he likes with his property, are talking about a sort of freedom which is already little but a shadow. If, by political means, agencies were set up to govern industry and finance for collective ends, we should not be taking from the great majority of owners any power they now possess; we

should merely be transferring the power from small minorities. We should indeed have to minimize the chance of owners to realize speculative profits—and losses—but perhaps, in comparison with their recent experiences, they would suffer little from this.

Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology in New York University, contributes an article on "The Great Economic Paradox" to the May *Harper's*. After pointing out by use of many examples that the pursuit of personal advantage by individuals is likely to lead to a social and economic situation injurious to all the people—to a situation so harmful that even the individuals pursuing their own ends suffer—he caps his argument with this observation:

The gist of the whole matter is that, whether we like it or not, modern life has become so highly integrated, so inextricably socialized, so definitely organic, that the very concept of the individual is becoming obsolete. Thinkers of many kinds are beginning to assert that the individual no longer exists except in a metaphysical sense. The welfare of each is becoming inseparably identified with the welfare of all. "Enlightened self-interest" is becoming synonymous with intelligently socialized "others-interest." The boundaries between egoism and altruism are rapidly breaking down. Today one can serve himself only by serving the community. The social outlook and socialized behavior are demanded of contemporary man not merely—not even primarily—on grounds of justice or of mercy, but of the most self-centered and materialistic wisdom.

HITLER

Adolf Hitler is playing such a large part in the affairs of Germany and threatens to become such a factor in international politics that he has attracted the interest of the whole world. It is natural that a considerable group of books telling the story of his life and describing his characteristics should appear. And so they have. One of the latest of these is "Hitler" by Emil Lengyel (New York: Dial Press, \$3.00). The author follows the "fictionized" form of biography. He is not content to relate outward events in the life of his subject. Beginning with the earliest years, he tells what the young Hitler thought. He quotes conversations which must certainly be imaginary. All this is done in the effort to picture his subject vividly. It is the method which has been made popular by Strachey, Maurois and other great biographers. If it is done by one who has concrete facts at his command and who is honest in the handling of his material, it is tremendously effective, for it portrays real character and gives to the biography the interest attaching to a work of fiction. It is, of course, a dangerous method to pursue, for an author who did not know his subject well, or who was careless in his use of facts, might draw a very unfair picture.

This life of Hitler reads like a story of thrilling interest and it appears to be carefully done. It shows Hitler as a boy, living in Austria near the Bavarian line, inspired by a great, almost a mystic, admiration for Germany. He was a lover also of adventure, and treasured stories of



A BUSY CORNER IN THE HEART OF LONDON

© Ewing Galloway

military exploit. He appeared not to have been a youth of great intellectual endowments, but he had a sort of zeal which prepared him well for the role he was to fill—a role which partakes something of the nature of a religious evangelist and in part that of a military dictator.

On the whole, the picture which we get of Hitler is not a very attractive one. He seems to be an advertiser and a showman, rather than a man of substance, but he is the sort of man who can stir powerfully a population which is suffering, whatever the nationality of that population may be.

CHANGING ENGLAND

Harold E. Scarborough, who has lived in England for eleven years as the London correspondent of the New York *Herald-Tribune*, has written a book about the social, economic and political life of the English people which he calls "England Muddles Through" (New York: Macmillan, \$1.75). "Within the maturity of people who are only now in middle age," says Mr. Scarborough in his opening paragraph, "there has been wrought in England a change as fundamental and possibly as far reaching as those entailed by the Black Death or the Industrial Revolution. We are still too close to the event to be able to do more than note its initial manifestations. Yet even with the limited perspective of the early years of the second post-war decade, these can be traced with some confidence."

It is the tracing of these changes in the customs, manners and institutions of the English people which Mr. Scarborough undertakes. He gives a picture first of the English scene just before the war and then he points out what the recent years have done to the upper classes, the middle classes and the lower classes. He does not give way to abstract philosophy. He explains the changes in terms of concrete and definite ways of living and thinking. The author of this book is not concerned, it should be noted, in establishing a thesis. He does not set out to prove that there have been great changes since the war. These changes become apparent in the course of his descriptive chapters. But the effort is always to paint a picture of what England is like, what its people are like, what its habits, customs and ideas are like, rather than to emphasize the fact of change. The result is that we have here the best picture of England and her people as they are today that this reviewer has seen. If one plans to go to England and wishes to read a book which would help him to understand in advance something of the conditions he may find, we know of nothing better than "England Muddles Through," and we similarly recommend it as the best which may be had for one who is not going to England and who must consequently gain his impressions of what that country and its

people are like from the printed page. And not only is this book informative, but it is most interesting. It is a book which we do not hesitate to recommend to all our readers.

HISTORICAL FICTION

Which of the novels published during the last decade have contributed most to an understanding of the nation's history? This is an interesting question. Many students of history, in school and out, find it desirable and enjoyable to supplement their political, economic and social studies of the past with historical fiction which enlivens the record and presents past periods in a living form. Lists of historical novels are therefore valued by large circles of readers. In order to serve these readers, Doubleday, Doran and Company conducted a prize contest for the best list of twenty-five greatest works of American historical fiction published within the last ten years. The judge was the literary critic, Lewis Gannett. He selected the following list which was compiled by Miss Rhoda Williams Marshall of Los Angeles, California.

"1492"—Mary Johnston
"Shadows on the Rock"—Willa Cather
"American Beauty"—Edna Ferber
"Arundel"—Kenneth Roberts
"In the Days of Poor Richard"—Irving Bacheller
"Drums"—James Boyd
"Great Meadow"—Elizabeth Madox Roberts
"Limestone Tree"—Joseph Hergesheimer
"Balisand"—Joseph Hergesheimer
"The Long Rifle"—Stewart Edward White
"All Ye People"—Merle Colby
"The Lively Lady"—Kenneth Roberts
"Black Daniel"—Honore Willsie Morrow
"On to Oregon"—Honore Willsie Morrow
"Gitana"—Robert W. Chambers
"Death Comes for the Archbishop"—Willa Cather
"Forever Free"—Honore Willsie Morrow
"The Forge"—T. S. Stribling
"The Wave"—Evelyn Scott
"Able McLaughlin"—Margaret Wilson
"A Lantern in Her Hand"—Bess Streeter Aldrich
"Giants in the Earth"—O. Rolvaag
"Cimarron"—Edna Ferber
"42 Parallel"—John Dos Passos
"1919"—John Dos Passos

PERSONAL EFFICIENCY

John J. B. Morgan and Ewing T. Webb, who some time ago wrote a book called "Strategy in Handling People," have now given us some more suggestions on the subject of personal efficiency under the title, "Making the Most of Your Life," (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, \$2.50). It is unfortunate that financial success and industrial power appear to these authors to be the goals of life. And yet, circumscribed in its vision as the book is, it contains many suggestions of great value. For material success is one of the objects of life and the hints given by these authors should help one substantially along the road toward its achievement.



"HANDSOME" ADOLPH—LEADER OF FASCIST GERMANY
An illustration from "Hitler," by Emil Lengyel (Dial Press).



SOCIAL SCIENCE BACKGROUNDS

Early Pan-Americanism

As we approach the present period in our study of American history and in our work of correlating past and present problems, we come upon the subject of Latin America and the relations of these neighboring nations with the United States. We come upon the conception of Pan-Americanism and we find upon examination that the Pan-American movement has been under way for many years; that it has at times held out a promise of closer political and economic relations among the American nations but that the development of the plan has been attended by such difficulties that only a fraction of the original vision has been realized.

Closer co-operation among the nations of the American continents was heartily recommended by Henry Clay and other statesmen of his period. While they did not envisage a political union or alliance with the nations of South America, it was the desire of these political leaders to develop the economic and cultural relations of the two continents by means of an international organization. But to the name of Simon Bolivar, the great liberator of the South American countries, is attached the honor of taking the first definite steps toward a Pan-America. He dreamed of a political union of the newly-established republics to the south as an insurance against aggression from Spain. Accordingly, the first Pan-American congress was held, largely through the efforts of Bolivar, in Panama in 1826. Although invited to participate in this inter-American conference, the delegates of the United States did not take part in the meeting.

While other South American leaders clung to Bolivar's dream of a political union throughout the entire century, little was accomplished until 1889. The initiative for the present Pan-American movement came from statesmen in this country. James G. Blaine, American secretary of state, had for many years sought to improve commercial relations between the two Americas by means of closer co-operation. He had developed an extremely ambitious program for the American nations. An inter-American customs union, a uniform system of currency, a common system of weights and measures for all the countries on both continents were among the dreams of Secretary Blaine. In an effort to attain these ends the secretary of state called a conference of the Americas which met in Washington in 1889.

Pan-American Union

It was in reality this inter-American congress which has been considered the beginning of the Pan-American movement. From that day until the present, six such conferences have been held in different cities of the Western Hemisphere. Representatives of the twenty-one republics have met every five years, except during the period of disruption incident to the World War, for the purpose of working out this ambitious Pan-American program. Not only have the congresses striven to give birth to the plans of Secretary Blaine, but on many occasions the idea of an American league of nations has been an important topic of discussion. But none of these aspirations has as yet been realized. From the auspicious beginning of the Pan-American movement

By David S. Muzzey and Walter E. Myer

has evolved only a permanent organization, with beautiful headquarters located in Washington, which gathers and distributes information about the Americas and strives to create a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation among the peoples and governments represented.

It is not to be denied that events taking place during the first two decades of the present century have had a decisive effect upon the development of the Pan-American movement. The so-called American "imperialism" following the Spanish-American War did not create the most propitious atmosphere for the complete fruition of the Pan-American ideal. Within the course of a few years, the United States government adopted a policy in dealing with its sister republics that led many of the countries south of the Rio Grande and in the Caribbean to entertain serious misgivings. It has become the important and difficult task of American diplomats in their relations with other members of the Pan-American Union to allay the fears and dispel the distrust of the delegates of the Latin American nations. A brief recital of some of the salient events of the period suffices to account for the attitude of the other republics toward the United States.

During the early part of the century the famous corollary to the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated by Theodore Roosevelt. President Roosevelt contended that the United States had certain obligations under the Monroe Doctrine which must be strictly enforced. When European nations had financial claims against republics in the Caribbean or in Central America, it was considered the duty of this country to take the necessary steps to collect them, provided the Latin Americans failed to make payment. The object of such a policy was to prevent European countries from sending armed forces to take over the customs houses and other resources in order to collect their debts. Instead, the United States government took upon itself the responsibility of insuring the collection of such debts by sending its marines to

the country in default to administer the customs and finances thereof.

Since the Spanish War, the instances in which the United States has "intervened" in Caribbean or Central American republics are numerous. The reasons for taking this action have not always been identical. At times, it has been for the purpose of collecting debts, either those owed to European countries or to citizens of this nation. Again, it has been for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens when revolutions have swept over the countries or have threatened. In each case of intervention, the object of the American government, as declared by Roosevelt and later by various secretaries of state, has been to restore law and order and insure the existence of a stable and responsible government. There have been more than twenty instances where American military forces have been sent to countries of the Caribbean for this purpose. The United States has thus assumed the role of a policeman for the Caribbean.

While the policy of intervention in certain Latin American countries has been repeatedly justified by American leaders and while it may have been devoid of any intention of aggression, it has not tended to create a harmonious and cordial feeling among the members of the Pan-American Union. Latin Americans, realizing that the Monroe Doctrine applies to the entire Western Hemisphere and noting the numerous instances of intervention in the Caribbean, have become restive lest the United States government apply the principle of intervention to the republics of South America.

That this policy has tended to create an atmosphere charged with suspicion and fear at many of the Pan-American congresses is unquestioned. Latin American delegates have repeatedly criticized the American practice of intervening in their

internal affairs. During the last conference, held in Havana in 1928, a heated debate on the subject was

Latin American Reaction

precipitated when the following resolution was introduced by Salvador: "No State has the right to intervene in the internal affairs of another." A majority of the republics favored the adoption of a policy of non-intervention. Their attitude on the American practice has been summed up in the remarks of two of the Latin American delegates. The Argentine representative stated:

Intervention—diplomatic or armed, permanent or temporary—is an attempt against the independence of nations, and cannot be justified on the plea of duty of protecting the interests of citizens. For the weaker nations cannot exercise such a right when their citizens suffer damage during convulsions in strong states.

And the Salvadorean delegate to the Havana conference made the following attack upon the policy of intervention:

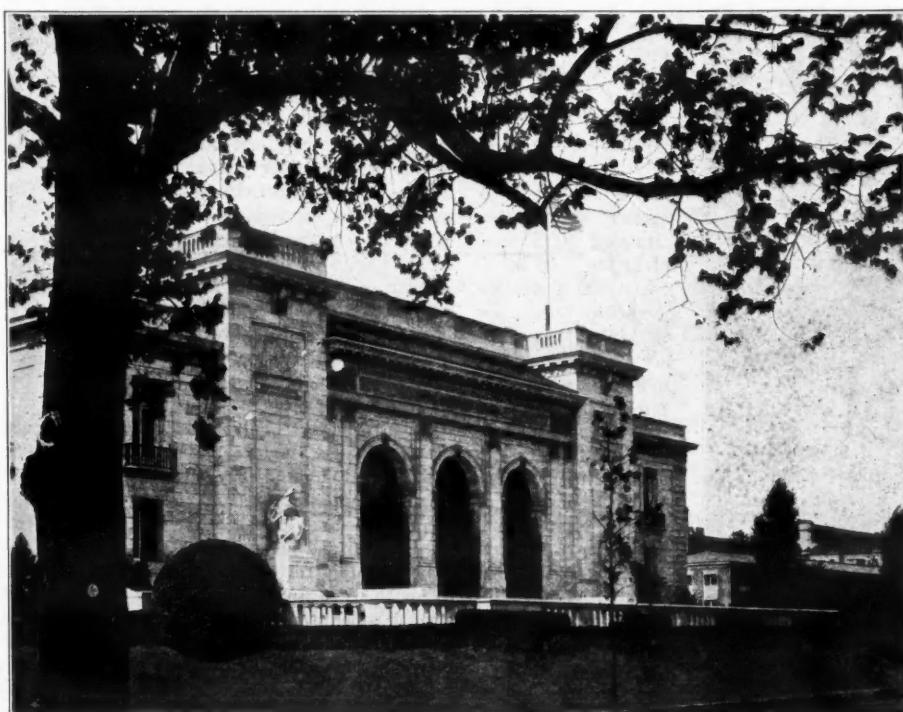
The right of intervention is the right of might. It is the strong who intervene in the internal affairs of a small country. Legal means should first be established of ascertaining the facts; a decision should then be given, after which the weak nation should be made to execute its duty, but a country has no right to intervene simply because of its own fleets, cannons and armies.

So long as the Latin American countries feel as they do about the Caribbean policy of the United States; so long as American marines are stationed in Nicaragua and other places to maintain order and protect American lives and property, it will be difficult to create a spirit of "good will" by means of the Pan-American Union. This feeling is one of the greatest handicaps to further progress. But it is not the only obstacle. The countries to the south have long felt that the United States has always exercised a dominating influence in the organization of the Pan-American Union itself. To a large extent, this is, of course, true.

The headquarters of the Union are located in Washington. In the past, the American secretary of state has been the president of the governing board and has

Desire for Equality

thus exercised a ponderant influence over the activities of the organization. The other members of the governing body have been the diplomatic representatives of the twenty republics stationed in Washington. This fact alone has decidedly limited their freedom of action and has naturally made it difficult for them to raise questions of a political nature. As a result the conferences have, for the most part, been confined to discussions of harmless and innocuous subjects such as the improvement of transportation and communication facilities, better conditions of sanitation and the encouragement of closer cultural relations among the various countries. This tendency led one of the leading Cuban newspapers to comment at the close of a Pan-American congress, "The same old patents, trademarks, and sanitation." It appears that the Latin American countries will be satisfied with their Pan-American relations only when they are treated on a basis of greater equality than the United States has thus far granted them.



THE PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING IN WASHINGTON



TORTURED CHINA

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH

CHINA DISRUPTED BY SECTIONAL POLITICS

(Concluded from page 1)

rope was still using wooden trenchers. She had attained high ethical standards and to notable achievements in law and order, so that twice the area of Europe was under a unified government when the western continent was distracted by internal strife and lawless disorder.

During these early centuries and up until the eighteenth, China lived apart from the rest of the world. Her customs and institutions were of her own making. They came into being slowly, but once established were almost impossible to cast aside. A cumbersome system of family life which gave to the oldest male supreme authority over all his descendants and relatives; ancestor worship; a difficult language and a primitive form of writing; the subordination of womanhood and the abysmal ignorance of the masses are only some of the characteristics which are traditionally Chinese.

CHAOS

The weeding out of these ancient traits cannot be accomplished in the course of a few decades. It seems that China must suffer hardship for a number of years to come. And before the process of reconstruction can get under way, there must be a period of disorganization, of internal chaos. The old house must be torn down before the new one can be built. China is engaged in the task of tearing down at the present time. This explains why she is so weak and unable to cope with internal disorders and must subject herself to the will of foreign nations. In the course of time, it will perhaps be very long, she will construct a new civilization. Some of her traditions she may retain, others she will discard. She will take on some western customs and practices, others she will leave alone. She will slowly build her house according to her own way.

With these essential facts at hand we are in a position to trace the developments which have taken place in China during the past twenty years and to see where she stands today. It will be remembered that during the last century the western nations actively undertook to open up trade relations with China. The Chinese yielded slowly and reluctantly. They had always looked upon the merchant with disdain, considered westerners barbarians and wished to have no contact with them. But with an already decaying system of government by emperors, they could not resist. When necessary, foreigners used force to open Chinese ports to trade.

SUN YAT SEN

The city of Canton, in the south of China, was the first point to be penetrated by foreigners. The inhabitants of that city had very early relations with westerners. They were more ready to receive new ideas

than the rest of their compatriots. A number of Cantonese travelled abroad and enlarged their vision and knowledge. For this reason, that part of China around Canton has become quite different from the rest of the country. It was there that democratic ideas first took root, and it is there that they have flourished. It was Canton which produced the revolutionists who overthrew the government by dynasty. For fifteen years, Sun Yat Sen and a group of followers plotted the revolt which successfully took place in 1911. A little later, in 1912, the emperor, the last of the Manchu dynasty, which had held sway since 1644, abdicated and China was declared a republic.

Sun Yat Sen became the first president but he did not remain in office long and for political reasons gave way to Yuan Shi Kai, a northerner. But instead of establishing a republic, Yuan Shi Kai set up a dictatorship.

He wished to make himself emperor and banished the Kuomintang, the political party of Sun Yat Sen, and dissolved the parliament. He remained in effective control of the government until his death in 1916.

The tactics of Yuan Shi Kai were not at all in accordance with the political ideals of the Cantonese. They wanted a representative government and not a dictatorship, a highly centralized government, after the ideas of the northerners. This difference in political viewpoint has been the great point at issue between North and South since the downfall of the empire. It is as apparent today as it was in the early life of the republic.

TWO GOVERNMENTS

With Yuan Shi Kai out of the way, the Kuomintang renewed its struggles in the parliament, which was reconvened by his successor. But like his predecessor the new president soon dissolved that body and the members of the Kuomintang once more retired to Canton. In 1917, Canton broke off its relations with northern China and established its own government. China now had two capitals, one at Peking and the other at Canton. The new Canton government was shaky and rival factions fought for control. At times Sun Yat Sen was in control of the Kuomintang and again he was driven out by his political opponents.

But if the Kuomintang was in difficulty, the northern government was no better off. Without a really strong leader, such as Yuan Shi Kai, there was no united strength. Yuan's generals engaged in a struggle for power. One section was set against another as each supported some rival pretender to power. Thus there was no unified government either in the North or South of China.

After the World War, Sun Yat Sen aspired to and wished to bring about a united China under the control of the Kuomintang. He sought help from Japan, Great Britain, the United States and Germany without success. At length he turned to Soviet Russia, which energetically joined in with his plans. A Soviet adviser, Michael Borodin, was sent to Canton in 1923, and together with Sun Yat Sen he reorganized the Kuomintang and laid plans for the conquest of China. Naturally Borodin hoped that China would eventually become Communistic and did everything in his power to sow the seeds of Communism. In 1924 there was a Communistic wing in the Kuomintang.

With this assistance, Sun Yat Sen's party was greatly

strengthened, and largely through the cleverness and ability of Borodin, the way was paved for the subsequent unification of China. However, Sun Yat Sen was not to see his party triumph. He died in 1925 and his work was taken up by General Chiang Kai Shek. After a series of successful campaigns, Chiang's efforts culminated in the establishment of a National Government at Nanking with himself as president. He had previously broken with Borodin and had expelled the Communists from the Kuomintang, but, as we shall see, the Soviets left their influence behind them.

PARTY DICTATORSHIP

This government has lasted until the present time, but like its predecessors, it has had its difficulties. For Chiang Kai Shek did not bring a representative government to China but another dictatorship. Although the party which came into control was the party of Sun Yat Sen it did not make a republic of China. The government is controlled by one party, the Kuomintang. This party is modeled after the Soviet system of councils and committees. The power is in the hands of a few individuals who hold key positions. The government is centralized, suiting the tastes of the North but not of the South.

So we find that Canton became dissatisfied with the party which it had for years nourished and supported. The Cantonese did not hesitate to break away as soon as they saw that China was being ruled by dictatorship. In May, 1931, another National Government was established in Canton and the South was again divided from the North. But in the face of foreign difficulties last fall, this government led the authorities at Nanking to some hope for a compromise solution to the differences between Nanking and Canton. However, now that the dispute with Japan seems to be dying down, there is evidence of further trouble upon the horizon. Only recently civil war again threatened to sweep over China.

An impending renewal of the struggle with Canton, and with other sections of China which disagree with the central government, led the authorities at Nanking to make a new declaration of policy, which they hope will satisfy all factions. They state that they have come to the realization of the futility of attempting to unify China by force. They are aware that their energy and resources have been sapped by civil war, and that this has placed them at the mercy of foreigners. So the Nanking government has decided not to resist further movements for secession. According to their present policy, if Canton, or any other section of China, wishes to establish its own government it is free to do so. The Nanking government will only strive

to strengthen and to unify that part of China which is under its immediate control.

Just how long this policy will last and how far-reaching will be its effects cannot be said. It may be the first step toward the dismemberment of China or it may forecast the decline and eventual downfall of the Nanking government. At any rate it is another development in the Chinese revolution which began in 1911 and which seems unlikely to end for many years to come.

PRESENT SITUATION

Such is the present internal political situation of China. Other aspects of the revolution are not so tangible. Education is very slowly filtering in, and a process of social reorganization is very slowly setting in. Among the younger and educated Chinese a turning away from the old system of family life and ancestor worship is evident. It will be many years, however, before this trait is fully erased.

Perhaps the greatest conflict in China today is between two foreign systems which are fighting for the control of the country. Communism and Christianity are locked in a death struggle for possession of the continent. It seems that in time, China will go either one way or the other, as her own religions are decadent. Through their careful work early in the last decade the Communists have gained a strong foothold in China. It is estimated that the Soviets are in control of one-sixth of China proper or of territory with a population of 90,000,000. Communist hordes, composed largely of Chinese bandits, have swept over one town after another in the interior. Both the Canton and Nanking governments have attempted without success to suppress them.

Communist doctrines and promises make a particular appeal to the poverty-stricken Chinese, and many of them are being won over to the cause. It is predicted that eventually China will go over to Communism, and that this system will ultimately control a large share of the earth's surface. On the other hand, there is a belief that a Communist system is not in keeping with Chinese culture and tradition, and that China will either discard this new influence or absorb it and change it to suit her needs.

Unsettled political conditions in Austria caused the cabinet of that country to resign from office on May 6. The immediate cause was attributed to the recent ascendancy of the Hitlerites throughout Austria. In many of the provincial, or state, elections held two weeks earlier, the Hitlerite candidates had displaced members of the parties in power, thus giving them added power in the national legislature.



HOME OF A PROSPEROUS CHINESE FARMER

In China farming is one of the most honorable callings. Since the time of Confucius the Chinese have thus rated vocations: 1. Scholars; 2. Farmers; 3. Laborers; 4. Merchants.

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Recent Reversal of Immigration Flow Influences American People

Strict Enforcement of Restrictive Laws Decreases Number of Incoming Foreigners to Vanishing Point. Future Characteristics of Population Likely to Change

Nothing which has taken place since the World War is likely to have a greater effect upon the future characteristics of the American people than the successive legislative measures taken to close the doors of the United States to foreign immigration. Already the effects of these measures have been noticed. Starting with the act of 1917 which placed upon incoming foreigners the obligation of being able to pass a literacy test and ending with the Immigration Act of 1929, the American government has succeeded in reducing immigration to the vanishing point. In fact, at the present time more foreigners are emigrating than immigrating. For every foreigner now entering the country, four are leaving.

FOREIGN-BORN

A continuation of this policy—and there is no reason to believe that it will be changed—is bound to produce far-reaching effects during the coming years. The American character as we know it today is nothing more than a combination of foreign influences. We need only to turn to the national census taken two years ago to determine the relation of foreigners to the native population. At that time there were more than fourteen million foreign-born in this country. But if we add to this number the first generation, that is, the children of foreign-born, we find that the total swells to more than forty million, or one-third of the entire population.

In a great number of our cities, more than one-half of the inhabitants are so-called foreigners. Three-fourths of the population of New York City may be so classed. Boston and Chicago have likewise a preponderance of foreign inhabitants. The states of North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin have attracted so many foreigners that their population is today made up of more than one-half of such people.

FORMER TIMES

And, were we to go back further than the first generation, the ratio would be much greater. With the second, or third or fourth generation taken into account, it can readily be seen that one of the principal functions of America has been to absorb the various foreign elements and

to produce the fusion known as the American.

It is an immigrant population which has been responsible for the building of the American nation. During the colonial period, foreigners were sought for the factories of the New England states and for the agricultural sections of the South. Prior to the Civil War, they played an important part in pushing the frontier westward. And in 1862, when the government opened up the plains of the West to homesteaders, foreigners were actually sought to develop the vast expanses which had hitherto lain barren. With the coming of the transcontinental railroad they played their part in the laying of the tracks, in producing the goods necessary to fill the freight cars, and in purchasing the manufactured articles of eastern factories.

TREND REVERSED

During this period, no stone was left unturned in encouraging and facilitating immigration to this country. Large companies, badly in need of workers, kept agents in European nations to recruit laborers offering to pay their transportation costs. Steamship lines and railroad companies offered special rates. The western states carried on a regular mission of propaganda in Europe in an attempt to secure settlers to reside within their own borders. So great and continual was the flow of immigrants to American shores that in the period between 1861 and 1914 they numbered nearly 27,000,000.

But now that the trend has been reversed, many of the scenes familiar to every American city may be expected to undergo drastic changes. The foreign section of towns in which the traditions, the language and the customs of the inhabitants have been maintained may gradually disappear. With the exception of the Negro race, which at present constitutes about one-tenth of the total population of the country, the so-called foreigners may be expected to become absorbed either by intermarriage or by change of residence from one vicinity to another. That there may be produced in coming decades as a result of a shutting of our ports to immigrants a more uniform type of American is expected by students of the development of civilizations.



—From SURVEY
THE COUNTRY DOCTOR—A COLORFUL FIGURE NOW PASSING FROM THE AMERICAN SCENE

Medical Profession Holds Many Attractions For Students of High Scholarship

One of the most highly esteemed men in any community is the physician. He has the knowledge and the skill with which to combat dread disease and death. And he has earned the gratitude of his fellows whom he has helped through crises in their lives. The development of medicine as a science goes back only about 300 years, and some of the most significant discoveries have been made within just the last century. Among these are the invention of general and local anesthesia by ether, chloroform and cocaine, the development of antisepic surgery, and the discoveries of toxins and of the X-ray. There are infinite possibilities for investigation and experiment in this field. If you are interested in becoming a doctor, you would find inspiration in reading a book on the history of medicine such as Hartzog's "Triumph of Medicine."

Before deciding definitely upon a medical career it is important to examine your qualifications for it. Here are a few essentials agreed upon by medical writers: industry, intelligence (including good memory, keen observation and ability to reason), initiative, calmness in face of crises, ability to concentrate, steady nerves, and the desire for greater achievement as one gains experience. The doctor needs good health and a personality that radiates good cheer whenever he enters the sickroom.

And he will gain the confidence of his patients if he shows a sympathetic understanding of them.

The training required for the medical profession is longer than that for any other. The minimum requirement is seven years beyond high school—two years in college, four years in medical school, and one year of internship in a hospital. About one-third of the 1929 graduates had obtained a college degree before entering medical school. The pre-medical courses in college include chemistry, physics, biology, English composition and literature. Scholarship standards for entrance to a medical school are high. The student must stand in the upper half of his college class, and some schools require that he be among the upper third. Women are admitted to all medical colleges.

At present they constitute about five per cent of the medical students. As for expenses, the average annual fee is \$292, though several charge from \$350 to \$400, and some as much as \$600 a year. One who plans to enter

the profession should count on an outlay of about \$1,000 a year, or from \$5,000 to \$7,500 for the entire course.

After his four-year course in medical school, the student must spend one year as interne in a hospital; that is, he lives at the hospital and assists older physicians on major cases, taking care of minor cases himself. Usually he does not receive his degree until he has finished his internship. Then he must take state examinations to secure a license to practice medicine in the state in which he locates.

The young doctor is faced with an important choice at the beginning of his career. First of all he must decide what kind of practice he wishes to take up and then what location would be most suitable for that particular field. He may decide to be a general practitioner, treating all types of disease, in which case he would probably open his office in a small town or on the outskirts of a city. The romantic figure of the country doctor, jogging along the road behind old Dobbin, worn, black satchel by his side, has largely disappeared in these days of good roads and automobiles and community hospitals. The trend now is toward the city and toward specialization rather than general practice. Because it is difficult for one man to study all phases of medicine sufficiently to become an expert in them all, more and more doctors are becoming specialists. Some are surgeons, connected with a hospital; others specialize on diseases affecting the eye, ear, nose or throat; while still others specialize on certain types of diseases, as women's or children's diseases, or tuberculosis. Some doctors are employed by companies to look after the health of their employees and are paid a regular salary for their services. A public health doctor has a responsible work of preventing disease and the spread of epidemics and of conducting health campaigns in the community. Then there are teaching positions in the medical schools and research positions with hospitals and laboratories which offer attractive openings.

RADIO IN CANADA

The government of Canada is planning to establish a government-owned nationwide radio broadcasting system, according to an announcement made in the Canadian House of Commons last week by Prime Minister Bennett. It has received the co-operation of the American government in making the necessary air-channels open for the Canadian plan. The principal feature will be the establishing of a chain of broadcasting stations throughout the country so as to cover every section. The system will be self-supporting, it is said, depending principally upon the income derived from a limited amount of advertising and from a license-tax on owners of receiving sets.



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NO MORE NEW FACES FOR THE AMERICAN MELTING POT

With the decline of immigration, the foreign population in this country will gradually decrease and America will become more typically American.